l: Karsten--269 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 152, 578, 721, 627 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros are by nature impulsive and choleric, qualities that among them frequently give rise to disputes and quarrels which may degenerate into sanguinary feuds. Their unbounded sense of liberty and their desire to be independent, not only of the whites but also of each other, is one of the reasons why they do not live in villages but each family separately, for in this way conflicts are more easily avoided. It may for instance, happen that the swine, the most important domestic animals, who during the day are allowed to roam about freely in the forest, penetrate into the plantations of a neighbouring family and devastate the crops. The owner gets angry and claims compensation for the damage done. In this way quarrels easily arise which may develop into bloody fights; at any rate there arises general discord and distrust between the two families. Some time later it may happen that one or more members of either family fall ill with some of the diseases which the Jibaros ascribe to witchcraft. When trying to find out the author of the evil the head of that family is most likely to attribute it to the malicious art of a neighbour with whom he has had such a quarrel. If the patient dies he has recourse to divination by means of the narcotic natéma, which generally leads to his suspicions of the neighbour being confirmed. The family's sense of justice as well as the duty to the deceased now require that revenge shall be taken, and the supposed wizard is assassinated. This murder naturally awakens the desire for blood-revenge on the part of the family thus outraged, and so a blood-feud is begun, which, as is easily understood, has a tendency to make itself permanent."

1; Karsten--452 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
578 (1928-29)

"When the Indians try to produce rain by magical means they nearly always do so merely out of wickedness, that is, to cause their fellow tribesmen harm or annoyance, especially when they are travelling on the river. When in 1917 I came from my long river expedition down to the Achuares on the middle Pastaza, I was surprised by heavy rains which lasted for weeks, caused the Bobonaza to swell, and made the ascension of the river extremely trying for my Indian crew. When at last we approached Canelos, one of my Indians said that he would make the rains to continue 'so that other travellers would have the same difficulties as we had had'."

20: Dyott--178-179 (no date) 1926 Jivaro-1
116, 578, 787

"It was not till the afternoon was well advanced that we began to get the drift of a plot that was being hatched by these half-naked figures squatting around the fire. Johnston and myself regarded the scene with interest. Kuashu and his sons were talking at a terrific rate. Napi was no better; he was continually interjecting his views. It made little difference to him whether he was spoken to or not, he just went on talking. The position in a nutshell was this. One of Napi's travelling companions from the South, was a son of the man who had murdered Kuashu's brother. While we had sat lazily by the river after lunch, Mihanda and We-suma had been out spying on this fellow's movements, and they had learned that the day after to-morrow he was returning home by himself. The question to be decided by Kuashu and his family was--should they or should they not take this unusual opportunity of avenging the uncle's death? The only way to settle the issue was to drink natema or ayahuasca, as it is sometimes called, so that advice might be given by the spirits of Aru-tama (the old people).

After the natema had boiled for about an hour, the pot was taken off the fire, the liquid decanted into another jar and the residue thrown away. A certain amount of ritual attended the drinking of the brown fluid. The chief characters, Mihanda and We-suma, stood in front of the temporary shelf on which two bowls of the magic drink were placed. They held their spears in one hand and after a war chant, in which they evoked the good graces of the spirits, they swallowed off the contents at one gulp. The first

reaction of the narcotic was to produce violent nausea and [179] both men went outside to vomit up all they had drunk. Three times this was done and on each occasion Himbikti refilled the bowls to their brim. In an exhausted state the two brothers eventually staggered out of the house and went off to some shelter they had prepared in the forest, where during the long watches of the night, the spirits would appear to them in their dreams, advising them as to the best course to pursue.

Kuashu did not take part in the ceremony; both he and Napi drank copiously of nija-manchi instead. Bowl upon bowl of it was served until the pair were thoroughly intoxicated. Johnston and myself hardly knew what was the right thing for us to do under the circumstances. We could not participate in the festivities very well, so we sat on our camp beds and did nothing. My companion felt as if it was incumbent upon us to do something, even if only to talk and shout; but one makes fewer mistakes by keeping quiet. 'When in doubt do nothing,' is an important axiom when dealing with savage people. Many a man has lost his life through doing something he should have had sense enough to avoid. Safety lies in watching others closely and taking your cue from them. If you can't imitate them, then remain passive and you will be all right, but under no curcumstances is it wise to attempt civilized tactics or you may have cause to repent it!'

28: Tessman--356 [4] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 526, 578

According to Karsten wrestling is one of the program points of a victory celebration. According to my own information wrestling is a way of deciding an argument between two Aguaruna men. The two antagonists grab each other with folded hands behind the head, and each one tires to throw the other to the ground. Whoever succeeds in this is the victor, and this settles the dispute.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Reluctance of informants to talk about supernatural or personal matters was in part overcome by paying them well for the time they put in. Payment was commonly in the form of black gunpowder, percussion caps, lead shot, glass and metallic beads, and cloth. In localities of Ecuadorian and missionary settlements, money was used as well. In visiting strange households, I found that a gift of an ounce or two of gunpowder invariably resulted in a friendly stay, since almost all Jivaro men today possess firearms and continually need replenishment of their supplies of ammunition. Leave-taking in the more isolated parts of the tribal territory typically involved assuring the host of my future return and "taking orders" for additional types of trade goods to be brought on the next visit. Thus, my host viewed my continued friendship to his advantage and an amiable departure always occurred, despite the fact that I was often leaving directly (with gunpowder and other goods) for a household or neighborhood with which he was feuding.

The following summary of soul beliefs is presented with two major reservations. First, as a summary, it omits consideration of the high degree of personal variability which is so characteristic of this population; what is presented here is a consensus of the views of men who were looked upon as experts in the field of religious beliefs and practices by the other members of the tribe. Second, I do not claim to have completely mastered the intricacies of Jivaro supernatural concepts; what is presented here should be viewed as a progress report on our knowledge of Jivaro soul beliefs. I fully expect additional field research to result in refinements of some of the statements presented here.

The 4,500 to 5,000 Jivaro proper live in a dense tropical rain forest environment amidst the hilly terrain at the foot of the eastern slope of the Ecuadorian Andes. The main source of food is shifting horticulture, with sweet manioc the chief crop. Hunting and fishing also have important roles in the economy. The basic economic and social unit is the nuclear family which most commonly occupies a house by itself. Such houses are scattered throughout the forest in very loose-knit neighborhood groupings, the Jivaro preferring not to live close together for explicitly-voiced anti-social reasons. Except in time of war, formal political organization is completely lacking at the neighborhood level and is never found at the tribal level. Suspicion and hostility are characteristic of the attitude toward fellow tribesmen, including many close relatives. Sorcery as well as murder by means of physical violence and poisoned food and drink are prevalent in the society.

Jivaro soul beliefs constitute one of the four major autonomous systems of verbalized thought so far noted in their culture. The other three are the systems of crop fairy (*nugui*) beliefs, of witchcraft beliefs, and the kinship system. On a conscious level, each of these systems derives from independent assumptions and can be described as a logical unit in itself, though these conceptual systems may be functionally interrelated as an expression of subconsciously existing needs. Since belief in one of these systems is not explicitly based upon belief in another, an adequate understanding of Jivaro soul beliefs

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

593 605 met, they fought. Finally, Ašaŋä gave his sister to Tukupï. Thereafter, when Ašaŋä beat Tukupï's sister, Tukupï beat Ašaŋä's sister.

Tukupï said, "Before, when you beat my sister, I went to fight you. But now that you have given me your sister, I will beat her instead."

So now everything is friendly between Tukupï and Ašaŋa.

605 Joking relationships are restricted to cross-cousins, with emphasis on humor between cross-cousins of the opposite sex, who frequently banter flirtatiously with each other. The jokes are often explicit sexual challenges, even between persons married to others and, when engaged in by elderly cross-cousins, are often the occasion for general mirth in the household. The Jívaro explain that they cannot joke with other relatives because of their "respect" for them. The highest degree of such respect is shown by a man to his mother-in-law, from whom he averts his eyes when speaking with her. For a man to look directly into the eyes of a woman, even in conversation, is considered flirtatious behavior, and for him to look into the eyes of another man is considered a hostile act.

602 606 576 [832] [578]

602 Beyond the polygynous nuclear family, the basic Jívaro kin group is a personal bilateral kindred with a slight patrilineal tendency. The personal bilateral kindred, however, should not even be referred to as a "group," for as Murdock has noted,[2] a person shares an identical kindred only with his siblings and even then only before marriage. Since each person has a different kindred, his personal kin rights and obligations can coincide only with those of siblings of the same sex. Classification of kinsmen is by degrees of distance from one's self (*ego*), rather than in terms of membership or non-

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601 DaHu, BrDaHu, FaBrSoDaHu, FaSiDaDaHu, MoSiSoDaHu, MoBrDaDaHu, FaBrDaDaHu, FaSiSoDaHu, SiDaHu, MoSiDaDaHu, MoBrSoDaHu *awe* N (*aweči* N; *awetá* N; *antepá* O) *Awe* has replaced *antepä*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Da, BrDa, FaBrSoDa, FaSiDaDa, MoSiSoDa, MoBrDaDa, BrSoWi, SiDa, FaBrDaDa, FaSiSoDa, FaBrSoSoWi, FaSiDaSoWi, MoSiDaDa, MoBrSoDa, MoSiSoSoWi, MoBrDaSoWi *nawanta* (*makú; makuči*)

SoWi, SiSoWi, FaBrDaSoWi, FaSiSoSoWi, MoSiDaSoWi, MoBrSoSoWi *nahatï* O(*naháturu* O; *makú; aweči* N; *awetá* N) *Nahatï* is beginning to be replaced by *awe*, the male-speaking term of reference being adopted.

Hu *aeš* (*áeširu*)

Co-wives are normally referred to by the *kai* term.

602 578 601 The utilization of these "true" and "branch" modifiers may be somewhat clarified by a few examples. According to the kinship rules, *ego* is expected to side with a true relative in a dispute with a branch relative of the same elementary category. However, *ego* must often decide at the time which of the two disputants is the "true" one and therefore deserving of his aid. No matter whose side *ego* decides to join, the abandoned party may be expected to accuse him of not living up to his kinship obligations. If *ego* does not join either party in the dispute, then both tend to level that accusation at him.

Similarly, another relative may manipulate the terminology when *ego* requests help from him. *Ego* may request aid from a parallel cousin, for example, saying, "You are my true 'brother' (*nekás yači*) and therefore you must help me in my dispute against this man who is only your branch 'brother-in-law' (*kaná sai*)." If the parallel cousin does not wish to accede to the request, he replies, "I wish I could help you, but

/text continues on p. 103/

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578 you are mistaken. You are really my branch 'brother' (*kmá yači*), not my true 'brother,' and since this enemy of yours is really my true 'brother-in-law' (*nekás sai*) it would not be right."

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628 Although often a source of frustration and confusion, this manipulation of defined degree of relationship can serve to save a man's life. When he visits a strange house, the host may subject him to an interrogation regarding the names of his relatives and their degree of relationship to the visitor, pretending a purely friendly interest in the subject. Usually, however, the host really wants to determine whether his visitor is a close relative of any of his enemies. In answering his interrogator, the visitor carefully puts into the "branch" category as many of his relatives as possible, particularly those whom he thinks may be enemies of the host. At the same time, he promotes to the "true" category those of his relatives whom he knows are friendly to the interrogator or the interrogator's relatives. A good memory of kin relationships of both enemies and friends is, of course, essential to this sometimes adroit manipulation of the "true–branch" definitions.

Failure to manipulate kin classification successfully can result in the visitor's food or beer being poisoned or in his being
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628 ambushed by the host after he leaves the house. It is not surprising, therefore, that fathers often spend an hour or more before dawn lecturing their sons on the degree of relationship between a variety of enemies and friends in their own and other neighborhoods. Such lectures also include advice on how to avoid dangerous entanglements, how to

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FIGURE 2 (*facing page*)
Kinship Chart. Elementary terms of reference (male speaking)

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get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuiá, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *sui*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *suve* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *suve*, and lives peacefully, the *suve* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *suve*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *suve*, then the father or brother of this *suve* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *suve* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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When you are living well, then, with all your *ati* and *yafi*, if someone comes and kills your *ati*, you have to avenge him. First of all, you have to bathe in the sacred waterfall, see *arutam*, and then you can kill. If you have not encountered *arutam*, you must not go kill, because you will die. When they kill someone in your family first, then you have to go and kill one of them. You can win by explaining that they killed first and that you are simply avenging his death. In this way, you can win. Also send the message, "If you kill me, my family will kill you." Then they also will say, "Yes, it is true. We cannot continue living and fighting. Let us calm down a bit. Since we are the same people, let us live peacefully. I want to stay in my house. I want to eat well." When they speak thusly, the feuding will end.

Learn to work. Let us work together. Since we have lots of beer, let us work together. Then when I die, you will know how to work. When we kill a pig, let us eat well, because when we die, it is all finished. So let us work well and eat well while we live. When we work, we work until midafternoon. When you are young, you want to work all day. But I tell you, "Enough, enough. It is very late. We have to return to the house and you have to bathe. Then let us eat well."

When I die, how is it going to be with you? Sometimes when another man drinks beer, he gets angry. But this is bad. You must not do this. When you are drinking, take a nap and then you can get up and drink some more. Dance. Never speak harshly, because some men then start fighting with their *yafi*. Don't do this or otherwise when you travel elsewhere the people will know and speak to one another about it. So don't do this, because then this will be a great shame.

Visiting and Parties

Young single men spend a great deal of a time visiting other households where unmarried female cross-cousins

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which was their publicly implied intention. As the drunkenness develops, men may get into arguments over normally repressed grievances or over allegedly flirtatious behavior with someone else's wife. Wrestling may ensue, or even hitting with a convenient palm wood slat. However, most parties do not involve such unpleasantness and end rather calmly as some of the participants pass out from drinking and exhaustion. If the head of the household has thus collapsed, a wife or daughter of his may make her way to an unmarried visitor's bed and spend part of the night with him.

The next day may be characterized by a "hangover" which is social as well as biochemical, when the various participants, embarrassed or angered over the previous night's events, face each other in the plain light of day. Hurried leave-takings may occur as visitors depart for their homes. While the early part of the prior evening's party may have given rise to temporary feelings of good fellowship, the later activities commonly tend to result in a "morning after" whose brooding mood hardly gives the impression that the parties are a clear-cut mechanism for social solidarity.

The most successful party-givers and hosts are those men who, in addition to having two or three wives to produce large amounts of beer and food, are respected by their neighbors for: their renown as killers in feuds and war, or as shamans; the achievement of age sufficient to have grandchildren; and who are generally of an amiable, honest, and magnanimous nature when dealing with those who are not their enemies. A man who has most of these characteristics is referred to by the term *untá*, which means "big" or "old" man. The demeanor of party participants in the house of such a man tends to be more circumspect and respectful of the master of the house, and excesses such as arguments and brawls seem to occur less often.

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that they are not on a hostile mission of stealth. Upon arriving at the house, the visiting enemy is offered beer and food, in keeping with Jívaro etiquette. The host is also honor-bound not to attack anyone visiting him peaceably, at least while the visitor is in the house and its environs. However, secret poisoning of proffered beer is assumed to be common, and the enemy may decline to drink, even though the woman serving it dips her hand into the bowl and sucks it to show that the beer is safe, a standard demonstration in serving all visitors. It is more likely, though, that he will accept the beer to demonstrate his confidence in his own invulnerability.

To avoid having the women or anyone else other than the *kakaram* learn the identity of the intended victim, the visitor pulls his stool close to that of the host and converses in whispers. In his conversation, the visitor acknowledges that he is an enemy of the host, and justifies his request not on the basis of any personal weakness or inadequacy, but because of the need for additional manpower in the expedition. If the *kakaram* has no reservations about killing the particular person discussed, he will almost always accept the invitation to kill. Partially this is due to general factors such as his desire to accumulate *arutam* soul power through killing and to further his prestige, but in this particular kind of situation, his acceptance is also due to his reluctance to lose face with his enemy. A refusal to participate probably would be interpreted as weakness or fear, unless he could give an acceptable excuse in terms of a kinship or friendship bond with the intended victim.

The Jívaro recognize that one of the major motivations for asking a *kakaram* who is an enemy for killing assistance is the hope to shoot him in the back while on the trail. Therefore, if he agrees to participate in a killing expedition with his enemy, he takes the precaution of bringing along at

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a few hundred feet apart who agreed to consider a small stream which ran between their houses as a boundary for purposes of clearing land for their wives' gardens.

Feuding

Due to the retaliatory nature of Jívaro legal sanctions, the application of any avenging action is likely to initiate long and drawn-out hostilities between two groups of kinsmen. This pattern of repeated application of sanctions by two families against one another is a dominant preoccupation in interior Jívaro life.

Such feuding is a state of mind as much as a pattern of overt behavior. Both of the parties concerned feel that the other family has not been properly punished for past wrongdoings. These feelings are evident from the daily conversations in which individuals continually remind their families of the wrongs committed against them or their close relatives. At the same time they stress their own personal interest in maintaining peace. This avowed personal desire for peace is apparently intended in part to impress the listener with the non-malicious character of the speaker. Despite common avowals of peaceful intentions, however, hostile acts are committed sufficiently often that throughout the interior region house doors are generally barred at night, men sleep with their guns at their sides, rarely go more than a few hundred feet from their houses without weapons, and when visiting another family, expect their hostess to sample the beer, before she serves it, to prove it is not poisoned. In households that are momentarily expecting an assassination raid against them, no one ventures outside the house after dark under any circumstances, and bodily needs are attended to on the floor of

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the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather suddenly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes, when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

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an accomplished warrior and, through the feasting, by being a generous host to as many neighbors as possible. One informant observed, "The desire of the Jívaro for heads is like the desire of the whites for gold."

Since the head-taking raids are directed at the Achuara and others "who live far away," the victim whose head is the focal point of the celebration normally is viewed by everyone in the head-taker's neighborhood as an "enemy." Accordingly, it is the unique occasion for the members of many Jívaro households to get together to reaffirm their common identity and unity. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the *tsantsa* feast is participated in with great joy and a cumulative sense of euphoria. Of course, the huge quantities of strong manioc beer help, as do the ritual circle dances (*wainči*), which continue from dusk to dawn night after night. The bountiful quantities of meat and garden foods add to the sense of well-being. It is also a time of relative sexual license, as I had occasion to observe during the one *tsantsa* feast that I attended. Liaisons are arranged discreetly by both unmarried and married individuals, who rendezvous in the forest surrounding the house.

The supernatural and ritual aspects of the celebration contribute to the sense of solidarity by inhibiting fights between men who have become drunk and who may try to even a score with old enemies or with men who have offended them at the feast by flirting with their wives. That is, it is believed that the avenging soul (*muisak*) of the murdered man will be able to take advantage of any disruption of the binding ritual by escaping from the *tsantsa* to cause an ongoing fight to culminate in a death. Permitting the *muisak* to escape from the *tsantsa* would also be an affront to the host, since it would negate the major supernatural purpose of the feast, that is, to utilize the power of the *muisak*, while it is resident in the

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tsantsa, for increasing the power of women who are members of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowledge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, although less common, are similarly halted by the women, led by the female ceremonial leader, the *ubá*, who is selected on a basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual, and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa* feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of killing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration, centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a common enemy. The intimate interaction between the euphoria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Cuwi[3] tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Cuwi tells me
Cuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Cuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

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ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jívaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jívaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jívaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade

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This does not mean that Jívaro killing has been entirely eliminated. In one locality east of the Cutucú's where there is no army garrison and the Achuara are nearby, feuding and warring still intermittently break out. However, it seems only a matter of time until this, too, will come to an end. More typical of the present situation is that some Jívaro are learning to conceal the evidence of murder along the lines perfected long ago in "civilized" societies. Thus they have recently begun to make assassinations appear to be deaths from natural causes (e.g., drowning) and to dispose of evidence of violent death by burying corpses or sinking them, weighted with stones, in rivers. Nonetheless, in totality, it does seem that violence has indeed declined substantially among the Jívaro.

An additional new development occurred in the lives of the Jívaro east of the Cutucú range when, in the latter part of 1971, at least one foreign-owned oil corporation began helicopter-supported operations in search of petroleum resources in their land. The consequences of these operations for the eastern portion of the tribe remain to be seen, but it appears that the native inhabitants of the land have no discernible voice regarding its exploitation.

While the traditional culture and society of the Jívaro are on the wane, their existence as a population certainly is not. Modern medical treatment and drugs provided primarily by missionaries have significantly contributed to a decline in mortality rates, especially among infants, and the estimated 7,830 *untsuri šuarä* of 1956–57 have now grown to a population for which estimates in 1969 ranged in the neighborhood of 15,000 persons. It is clear that the Jívaro have "turned the corner" demographically, and from what is known of North American Indian populations under similar circumstances, the prognosis would seem to be for a sustained continued growth.